

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 COPENH 02608 01 OF 03 191546Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W  
----- 026198

O R 191358Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7913

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 2608

PARIS PLEASE PASS ASST SECRETARY STOESSEL

E X D I S

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US

SUBJ: US-EC NINE MEETING

1. THERE FOLLOW TEXTS OF OPENING REMARKS OCTOBER 18 BY EC NINE CHAIRMAN OLDENBURG (DENMARK) AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL AT US-EC NINE MEETING ON TEXT OF PROPOSED US-EC NINE DECLARATION.

2. OLDENBURG'S STATEMENT (EXCEPT WHERE INDICATED REFERENCES ARE TO US TEXT CONTAINED STATE 198317): BEGIN TEXT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 COPENH 02608 01 OF 03 191546Z

"GLOBALISATION (US PARAGRAPH 6)

"THE NINE CONSIDER THAT THE PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANCE, SUCH AS TRADE, MONEY OR DEFENCE, SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE TREATED SEPARATELY, EACH IN THE APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL FORUM. TRANSFER THE NEGOTIATION OF ANY ONE OF THEM FROM THE APPROPRIATE FORUM INTO A MEETING SUCH AS THIS ONE. WE SHALL NOT THEREFORE BE ABLE TO ACCEPT ANY LANGUAGE WHICH IMPLIES SUCH A NEGOTIATING LINK OR ANY NEW FORMULATION ON ANY SPECIFIC SUBJECT WHICH IS UNDER NEGOTIATION ELSEWHERE.

"THE NINE WOULD THEREFORE PREFER NOT TO ADD REFERENCES TO DEFENCE OR SECURITY TO THEIR DRAFT OF THE US/NINE DECLARATION. THERE ARE COGENT REASONS FOR THIS GIVEN THE PRESENT COMPETENCES OF THE NINE; NOT LEAST OF THESE IS THE FACT THAT BY SO DOING WE WOULD GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF EXCLUDING STATES WITH WHOM WE ALL HAVE THE FRIENDEST RELATIONS FROM MATTERS OF DEEP CONCERN TO THEM AND ON WHICH THEY HAVE AN INTEREST IN EXPRESSING THEIR VIEWS.

"THE NINE HAVE CONSIDERED THE UNITED STATES SUGGESTION THAT A GENERAL REFERENCE BE INCLUDED IN THE DECLARATION TO THE LINKS WHICH UNITE EIGHT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. THEY THINK, HOWEVER, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, COULD NOT APPLY TO ALL THE PARTIES, WOULD NOT BE THE BEST WAY OF DEALING WITH THIS QUESTION. INSTEAD IT IS SUGGESTED THAT A REFERENCE COULD BE ADDED TO PARAGRAPH 18 OF THE TEXT PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES.

"MEANS OF CO-OPERATION (US PARAGRAPHS 10 AND 16)

"THE NINE SHARE THE DESIRE OF THE US TO INTENSIFY THEIR EXISTING CO-OPERATION. THEREFORE THEY WISH TO MAINTAIN WITH THE US ON AN EQUAL BASIS A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE. TO THIS END ALL THE EXISTING CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION, CO-OPERATION AND CONSULTATION BETWEEN THEM SHOULD BE USED TO THE FULL. THE NINE CONSIDER THAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION THESE CHANNELS ARE SUFFICIENT FOR THIS DIALOGUE. THEREFORE THEY ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO INCLUDE ANY WORDS IN THIS DECLARATION WHICH WOULD IMPLY THAT NEW MACHINERY AND PROCEDURES WOULD BE DESIRABLE. IN EFFECT, CONTACTS TAKE PLACE IN THE VARIOUS APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS WHERE THE UNITED STATES AND SOME OR ALL OF THE NINE, OR THE NINE COLLECTIVELY, ARE PRESENT, E.G. TRADE IN THE GATT,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 COPENH 02608 01 OF 03 191546Z

MONETARY QUESTIONS IN THE C20 AND THE IMF, DEFENCE AND POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS IN NATO, DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN UNCTAD AND SO ON. THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES COOPERATE ON A LARGE NUMBER OF SUCH ISSUES IN OECD. THERE ARE ALSO VARIOUS MEANS OF DIRECT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMUNITY.

"IN ADDITION, AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF PROGRESS TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION, THE FRANK AND FRIENDLY BILATERAL CONTACTS AT ALL LEVELS WHICH

MEMBERS OF THE NINE HAVE WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL CERTAINLY CONTINUE, THOUGH INCREASINGLY IN THESE CONTACTS MEMBERS OF THE NINE WILL BE BASING THEMSELVES ON COMMON POSITIONS THEY HAVE REACHED AT NEUF.

"THE OBSERVATIONS I JUST MADE ARE RELATED SPECIFICALLY TO PARAS 10 AND 16 OF THE AMERICAN COUNTERPROPOSALS; THEY EXPLAIN WHY WE WERE LED TO PRESENT A NEW DRAFT ON THESE MATTERS (OUR PRESENT POINT 8 BEGIN FYI. THIS REFERS TO EC REVISED DRAFT TABLED OCTOBER 18; SEE SEPTEL. END FYI.) BUT THESE OBSERVATIONS HAVE A VERY GENERAL BEARING. THEY ARE E.G. RELEVANT FOR THE WAY WE LOOK AT THE WORDING OF THE AMERICAN COUNTERPROPOSALS UNDER PARAS- WHICH DEAL WITH SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF OUR COOPERATION - WE HAVE NOT YET FULLY MADE UP OUR MINDS AS TO FURTHER DRAFTS WE COULD PROPOSE TO YOU. WE SHALL INDEED BETTER BE ABLE TO DO SO AFTER TODAY'S DISCUSSIONS WHICH WILL CERTAINLY APPEAR TO BE OF GREAT VALUE FOR OUR FURTHER WORK ON THESE TEXTS.". END TEXT.

3. STOESSEL'S STATEMENT: BEGIN TEXT.

"--WE ARE PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OCCASION TO MEET WITH YOU AGAIN TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION WHICH OPENED IN NEW YORK. WE ARE PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL TO OUR DANISH HOSTS FOR THEIR ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS MEETING, WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE OF A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE FURTHER STEP IN DEVELOPING THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION.

"--BEFORE TURNING TO SPECIFIC ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE IN THE DRAFT, I BELIEVE I SHOULD EXPRESS TO YOU OUR INTEREST IN PROCEEDING AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE WITH OUR EFFORTS TO REFINE THE TEXT.

"-- WE ARE CONTINUING TO APPROACH THIS EFFORT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT TO EUROPE COULD TAKE PLACE THIS YEAR. THEREFORE, WHILE WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RESOLVE ALL OF THE ISSUES, WE WOULD HOPE TO SETTLE A VERY LARGE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 COPENH 02608 01 OF 03 191546Z

NUMBER OF THEM TODAY. I WOULD HOPE THAT WE COULD NARROW OUR DIFFERENCES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN THE COURSE OF THIS MEETING, LEAVING AS FEW AS POSSIBLE FOR A FURTHER MEETING AT A DATE WE CAN BETTER DETERMINE ONCE WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO ASSESS THE PROGRESS WE MAKE HERE.

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PAGE 01 COPENH 02608 02 OF 03 191602Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O R 191358Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7914

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 2608

EXDIS

"--WE ARE PREPARED TO ADDRESS IN DETAIL ALL ASPECTS OF THE TEXT, AND IN SOME CASES WILL HAVE SUGGESTIONS TO OFFER IN THE FORM OF POSSIBLE NEW FORMULATIONS.

"--PERHAPS IT WOULD BE USEFUL, MR. CHAIRMAN, IF I WERE TO TURN NOW TO SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE TEXT BEFORE US, WITH THE AIM OF CLARIFYING OUR VIEWS ON SOME OF THE MAIN ISSUES. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL, WE BELIEVE, FOR US TO DEAL WITH THESE GENERAL CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AS THEY WILL BE REFLECTED IN THE SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS THE TEXT WILL EMBODY.

"--FIRST, WE REGARD THIS DISC  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 COPENH 02608 02 OF 03 191602Z

USSION WITH YOU, AND THE  
TEXT WHICH WILL EMERGE FROM IT, AS THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS.  
WHEN THIS TASK IS COMPLETE, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO  
SIT BACK AND CONGRATULATE OURSELVES ON A JOB WELL DONE, AS

GOOD AS OUR TEXT MAY BE, FOR THE PROCESS OF DEFINING OUR RELATIONSHIPS NECESSARILY WILL GO FORWARD, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, BASED UPON THE PURPOSES WE SHARE AND THE HISTORIC FACT OF OUR LONG ASSOCIATION IN A HOST OF ENTERPRISES.

--THUS, WE WOULD REGARD THE DOCUMENT RESULTING FROM OUR LABORS AS A STARTING POINT AND NOT A CULMINATION.

--WE WOULD PORPOSE THAT THIS POINT BE ADDED TO THE TEXT OF THE PREAMBLE.

SECOND, ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF PARTNERSHIP, WHICH FIGURES SO PROMINENTLY IN OUR CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE TEXT, SOME OF OUR FRIENDS HERE HAVE POINTED TO THE APPARENT CONFLICT IN THE CONCEPTS OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY, ON ONE HAND, AND PARTNERSHIP OR COMMUNITY, ON THE OTHER HAND.

--IN OUR VIEW, THE TWO CONCEPTS DO NOT NOW AND NEED NOT IN FUTURE CONFLICT; RATHER THEY REINFORCE EACH OTHER.

--HISTORICALLY, THE BIRTH OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OWES MUCH TO THOSE CONCRETE EXPRESSIONS OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP WITH WHICH WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR;

--ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IS BEST ASSURED IF WE MAINTAIN AND REINVIGORATE THAT PARTNERSHIP;

--BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE EVOLVING EUROPEAN IDENTITY CAN STRENGTHEN ATLANTIC TIES IF OUR ACTIONS ARE GUIDED BY THE SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP;

--SOME HAVE ASKED US TO DEFINE PRECISELY WHAT WE MEAN BY PARTNERSHIP OR ATLANTIC COMMUNITY;

--I DOUBT THAT WE CAN REALLY DEFINE THE ABSTRACT CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP, OR THAT THE CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY CAN  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 COPENH 02608 02 OF 03 191602Z

BE DELINEATED WITH TOTAL CLARITY;

--IN ANY EVENT, BOTH CONCEPTS ARE IMPORTANT BECAUSE THEY EXPRESS SOMETHING SIGNIFICANT ABOUT THE QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS OF STATES: THE NINE, AND THE BROADER ATLANTIC GROUPING;

--A BALANCED US-EC TEXT SHOULD REFLECT BOTH IN AN APPROPRIATE WAY;

--CERTAINLY, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO UNDERLINE IN THE TEXT

THE STRENGTH OF OUR COMMON ATTACHMENT TO THE CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP IF PUBLIC OPINION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC IS TO DRAW FROM THIS EXERCISE A SENSE OF RENEWAL OF OUR COMMON PURPOSES.

"--IN ESSENCE, WE SEE PARTNERSHIP AS EXTENDING ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF OUR RELATIONS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT, OF COURSE, OUR RESPECTIVE INTERESTS.

"--THUS, AS WE HAVE SAID, THE DEFINITION OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD COMMON PURPOSES IN THE BROADEST SENSE OF THAT PHRASE.

"--THE CENTRAL ASPECT OF OUR PARTNERSHIP IS THE NATO ALLIANCE WHICH PROVIDES OUR SECURITY AND THE BASIS FOR PURSUING TOGETHER THE SEARCH FOR RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, AS SPELLED OUT IN THE HARMEL REPORT. THOUGH ALL OF US HERE ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, IT IS THE WESTERN SHIELD BEHIND WHICH WE HAVE ALL PROSPERED.

"--BEYOND THIS, THOUGH, WE BELIEVE THAT A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION SHOULD EXTEND TO EVERY SPHERE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH EACH OTHER, AND IN OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHERS. THUS, WE NEED TO DEFINE OUR COMMON PURPOSES, STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN SELF-INTEREST AND THE COMMON INTEREST. WE NEED, AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS SAID, A SHARED VIEW OF THE WORLD WE SEEK TO BUILD.

"--AT TIMES, THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULTIES IN OUR RELATIONS, AND DIVERGENCES SOMETIMES HAVED TO FRICTIONS. BUT THESE HAVE BEEN SURMOUNTED IN THE PAST, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE. WE MUST DETERMINE, AND STATE OUR DETERMINATION, TO FIND  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 COPENH 02608 02 OF 03 191602Z

COOPERATIVE SOLUTIONS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE OUR TIES, WHICH ARE VITAL TO PRESERVING THE UNITY WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF OUR SECURITY.

"--IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD NOT A COMMENT BY MR.

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PAGE 01 COPENH 02608 03 OF 03 191613Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O R 191358Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7915

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 2608

EXDIS

HABIB-DELONCLE APPENDED TO THE RECENT REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY. HE SAID, 'THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD DEVELOP THEIR COOPERATION ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY AND ORGANIZE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF THIS RELATIONSHIP, WHICH MUST ALSO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD-WIDE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTICIPANTS. THIS DIALOGUE SHOULD BE CARRIED (OUT) THROUGH ANY EXISTING OR NEW PROCEDURE WHICH MAY BE FOUND ADEQUATE AND DIRECTED TO THE SAFEGUARD OF WORLD PEACE AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SECURITY AND THE INCREASING OF THE PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRIES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 COPENH 02608 03 OF 03 191613Z

OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA; FOR THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY OF THIS AREA REMAINS INDIVISIBLE.'

"--THE SPIRIT OF MR. HABIB-DELONCLE'S COMMENT, IT SEEMS TO US, MUST PERVADE OUR ENTERPRISE HERE, FOR WE OURSELVES CAN SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO PARTNERSHIP, AND WOULD ASK FOR CLARIFICATION FROM THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT IT IS NOT THE CATALYST WHICH HAS PRESERVED OUR RELATIONSHIPS IN THE TROUBLED PAST AS IT WILL IN THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE.

"--THIRD, I BELIEVE WE NEED TO SORT OUT OUR THINKING WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE WE HAVE REFERRED TO AS THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS.

"--INTERDEPENDENCE IS A POLITICAL FACT, NOT SOMETHING ANY OF US HAS INVENTED. IT IS AS MUCH A REALITY AS THE BUDGET SQUEEZE WE ALL FACE AS WE TRY IN OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO SORT OUT THE PRIORITIES FOR ALLOCATING OUR RESOURCES. IT IS AS REAL AS THE FACT THAT PUBLIC OPINION HAS TO BE PERSUADED THAT PRIORITIES ARE BALANCED, AND THAT THE POLICIES OUR GOVERNMENTS ARE CARRYING OUT IN ALL SPHERES ADD UP TO A COHERENT APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS WE FACE NATIONALLY AND IN COMMON.

"--WHAT I AM SAYING, IN SUM, IS THAT THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WARRANTS OUR ASSERTION OF ITS IMPORTANCE. TO FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THIS IN OUR TEXT WOULD BE TO IGNORE REALITY.

"--THIS ASPECT IS IMPORTANT IF THE PUBLIC IS A DRAW FROM THIS EXERCISE A SENSE OF RENEWAL OF COMMON PURPOSES AND A FRESH REALIZATION THAT AMERICA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH AN EMERGING EUROPE INVOLVES MORE THAN HAGGLING OVER TARIFFS AND QUOTAS OR MONETARY ADJUSTMENT AND CONVERTIBILITY.

"--FOR OUR PART, WE SEEK TO DEMONSTRATE TO CONGRESS AND TO OUR PUBLIC THAT DIFFERENCES IN A GIVEN AREA WILL BE APPROACHED IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

"--IF WE SUCCEED, IT WILL HELP US TO CONTINUE TO PLAY THE SECURITY ROLE THAT ALL AGREE IS VITAL TO OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 COPENH 02608 03 OF 03 191613Z

"--FOURTH, I BELIEVE WE NEED TO ADDRESS WITH GREAT SERIOUSNESS THE ISSUE OF CONSULTATION.

"--WHILE THE DOCUMENT BEFORE US ALSO SHOULD PLEDGE US TO COOPERATIVE ACTION IN THE TRADE AND MONETARY FIELDS, WE SPECIFICALLY HAVE SUGGESTED A PLEDGE TO PRIOR CONSULTATIONS ON POLICIES AFFECTING EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS.

"--WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE NEED OF THE NINE TO DEVELOP COMMON POSITIONS, AND TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE. WE ARE PREPARED TO ENVISAGE A STRONG ASSERTION IN THE TEXT REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE IDENTITY OF THE NINE, FOR THIS, TOO, IS A REALITY, AND ONE WHICH WE WELCOME.

"--BUT WE SEEK AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN BEFORE DECISIONS BY THE NINE AFFECTING OUR INTERESTS BECOME FINAL.



OF COURSE, THIS SHOULD BE A RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENT.

"--HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT SUGGESTING NEW INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGMENTS AND WE ARE FLEXIBLE ON THE FORMS CONSULTATION MIGHT TAKE.

"--AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE THAT WE CANNOT SIMPLY CONFIRM THE VALIDITY OF EXISTING ARRANGMENTS. TO LET THE MATTER REST WITH A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT EXISTS WOULD BE TO IGNORE THE REALITY OF FUTURE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS BASED UPON COMMON AGREEMENT TO ENRICH OUR DIALOGUE, INCLUDING THROUGH WHATEVER NEW ARRANGEMENTS MIGHT EMERGE. WE BELIEVE WE MUST LEAVE OURSELVES OPEN TO CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE, GIVING A FORWARD LOOK TO OUR PLEDGE TO CONSULT.

"--FIFTH, WE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AS A WORKING PRINCIPLE WE EACH SEEK TO AVOID TRANSMITTING TO THE OTHER THE COST OF DOMESTIC POLICIES AND ADJUSTMENT.

"--TO THE EXTENT THAT EACH SIDE SUCCEEDS IN HAVING ITS ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKERS UPHOLD THIS PRINCIPLE, IT WOULD HELP REDUCE ECONOMIC FRICTIONS BETWEEN US, PROTECTIONIST TENDENCIES IN THE US AS WELL AS TENDENCIES TOWARDS AN INWARD-LOOKING APPROACH IN EUROPE.

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PAGE 04 COPENH 02608 03 OF 03 191613Z

"--FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD STRESS THAT, ON THESE AND OTHER ISSUES, WE ARE LESS CONCERNED WITH THE PRECISE WORDS THAN THE SUBSTANCE THEY CONVEY. WE WILL WELCOME SUGGESTIONS ON THESE AND OTHER POINTS, LOOKING TOWARD THE EMERGENCE OF THE BROADEST POSSIBLE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT BEFORE US TODAY. END TEXT.  
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